

Message Text

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AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE
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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: N/A
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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR YOUNG'S SECURITY COUNCIL STATEMENT
ON RHODESIA

FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT ON RHODESIA AS DELIVERED BY
AMBASSADOR YOUNG IN UN SECURITY COUNCIL MARCH 14, 1978.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:

UNDER THE ADMINISTRATION OF PRESIDENT CARTER, RHODESIA HAS BEEN ONE OF THE PRIORITY ISSUES OF US FOREIGN POLICY. TOGETHER WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM, AND IN COOPERATION WITH THE FRONT LINE STATES, THE UNITED STATES HAS WORKED EXTENSIVELY WITH THE NATIONALIST LEADERS IN AN EFFORT TO RECONCILE DIFFERENCES AND TO BRING ABOUT A PEACEFUL TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE.

WE PARTICIPATED IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS FOR RHODESIA, MR. PRESIDENT, BECAUSE WE FELT IT ESSENTIAL TO ESTABLISH A COHERENT PLAN BASED ON THE FOLLOWING GOALS:

-- FIRST, THE INITIATION OF AN IRREVERSIBLE PROCESS LEADING TO MAJORITY RULE IN AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE;

-- SECOND, THE CREATION OF A NEUTRAL POLITICAL PROCESS WHICH WOULD ALLOW ALL POLITICAL FACTIONS IN ZIMBABWE, TO COMPETE FAIRLY FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP THROUGH ELECTIONS WHICH TRULY REFLECT THE WILL OF THE MAJORITY;

-- THIRD, AN END TO HOSTILITIES, FOLLOWED BY THE MAINTENANCE OF STABILITY, LAW AND ORDER DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD TO ENSURE THE FAIRNESS OF THE PROCESS AND THUS ITS DURABILITY;
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-- FOURTH, AGREEMENT ON AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION THAT PROVIDES FOR A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT, THE ABOLITION OF DISCRIMINATION, AND THE PROTECTION OF INDIVIDUAL HUMAN RIGHTS, INCLUDING THE RIGHT OF MEMBERS OF THE MINORITY AS WELL AS THE MAJORITY;

-- FIFTH, HAVING PRESENTED A PROPOSAL BASED ON THESE GOALS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL, THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH UNITED KINGDOM, UNDERTOOK A SERIES OF DISCUSSIONS AND NEGOTIATIONS WITH ALL OF THE PRINCIPAL PARTIES CONCERNED. WE HAVE BEEN PURSUING THESE EFFORTS VIGOROUSLY. IN PARTICULAR, WE WANT TO ENGAGE THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AS WELL AS THE NATIONALIST PARTIES INSIDE RHODESIA IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

WE SOUGHT -- AND CONTINUE TO SEEK -- THE ADVICE AND SUPPORT OF THE CONCERNED AFRICAN STATES, WHOSE VIEWS WE TOOK INTO ACCOUNT IN FORMULATING THE PROPOSALS INITIALLY. AND WE MET WITH THE SMITH REGIME IN AN EFFORT TO BRING THEM INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF OUR PROPOSALS. AS PRESIDENT CARTER

CONFIRMED IN HIS MARCH 9 PRESS CONFERENCE, WE REMAIN
FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN IS THE
BEST BASIS FOR A PEACEFUL, JUST AND PROMPT TRANSITION
TO AN INDEPENDENT ZIMBABWE.

AN INTERNAL AGREEMENT HAS NOW BEEN ANNOUNCED IN SALISBURY.
A NEW POINT HAS BEEN REACHED IN THE SEARCH FOR A SETTLE-
MENT AND WE ARE ALL UNDERSTANDABLY CAUGHT UP IN MEA-
SURING DETAILS AGAINST THE STANDARDS WE HAVE SET. BUT
WE SHOULD NOT LET LEGITIMATE CONCERN WITH DETAIL OB-
SCURE THE ENORMOUS STAKES THE PEOPLES OF THE REGION
AND THE ENTIRE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY HAVE IN RHODESIA.
THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR ATTEMPTS TO ADVANCE PERSONAL SELF-
INTEREST OR FOR POSTURING BEFORE THE WORLD.
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THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR RHODESIANS -- WHITE OR
BLACK -- TO THINK ONLY OF DEFENDING THEIR PARTISAN
INTERESTS.

THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR OUTSIDE POWERS TO BE CONSIDERING

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CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

WHAT ADVANTAGE THEY CAN EXTRACT IN THE PROCESS OF
TRANSITION.
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THIS IS NOT A TIME FOR THOSE OF US WHO HAVE WORKED
HARD TO BRING ABOUT A FAIR SETTLEMENT TO LAY DOWN
OUR BURDEN AND TURN OUR BACKS.

MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL WE MUST NOT RESIGN OURSELVES
THAT THE BIRTH OF A NEW NATION MUST BE BLOODY AND
VIOLENT. WE SEE NO REASON THAT WE CANNOT FIND A PEACE-
FUL SOLUTION TO THE DIFFERENCES WHICH STILL EXIST
AMONG THE PARTIES.

AT THIS CRUCIAL JUNCTURE IN THE HISTORY OF AFRICA AND
THE WORLD WE MUST TAKE A LONGER PERSPECTIVE, LOOKING
TO THE PAST AND RECOGNIZING THE PROGRESS THAT HAS BEEN
MADE WHILE HOLDING UP FOR THE FUTURE THE HIGHEST
STANDARDS WHICH WILL ENSURE THAT ZIMBABWE WILL ENTER
THE COMMUNITY OF FREE AND INDEPENDENT NATIONS PROMPTLY
AND PEACEFULLY.

WE MUST EXAMINE THE SO-CALLED INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
DISPASSIONATELY. I AM THE FIRST TO RECOGNIZE THAT
ANYTHING WHICH MR. SMITH HAS NEGOTIATED MERITS THE MOST
CAREFUL SCRUTINY. BUT, I AM ALSO WILLING TO CREDIT
GOOD FAITH TO THE PARTICIPATING NATIONALIST LEADERS.
THEY, AS MUCH AS THE OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS OF
ZIMBABWE WANT FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE FOR THEIR
COUNTRY AND FULL POLITICAL EQUALITY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE
OF THE COUNTRY. IT IS FAIR THEN, TO ASK WHAT THEY

HAVE ACHIEVED IN SALISBURY. COMPARED WITH THE KINDS OF SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WHICH SMITH HAS ENTERTAINED IN THE PAST, THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT MARKS SOME PROGRESS.

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-- THE NATIONALIST LEADERS HAVE GOTTEN MR. SMITH TO AGREE TO THE PRINCIPLE OF UNIVERSAL ADULT SUFFRAGE.

-- SMITH'S SIGNATURE HAS BEEN OBTAINED ON A COMMITMENT EVENTUALLY TO STEP DOWN. THERE IS STILL NO IRONCLAD ASSURANCE, HOWEVER, THAT HE WILL DO SO.

-- FINALLY, THERE IS RECOGNITION THAT DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD SOME SHARING OF POWER MUST TAKE PLACE AMONG THE PARTICIPATING GROUPS.

THAT BEING SAID, MR. PRESIDENT, THERE IS MUCH IN THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WHICH RAISES QUESTIONS REGARDING THE ABILITY TO WITHSTAND THE POLITICAL PRESSURES WHICH HAVE BUILT UP OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS.

PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANTLY WE MUST CONSIDER WHETHER THE AGREEMENT ANNOUNCED IN SALISBURY TAKES SUFFICIENTLY INTO ACCOUNT THE ENORMOUS DIFFICULTY OF MANAGING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THIS CRUCIAL WATERSHED MUST BE HANDLED IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE VIOLENCE OF THE PRESENT STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION CAN BE TRANSFORMED INTO AN IRREVERSIBLE POLITICAL PROCESS WHICH WILL RESULT IN THE APPROVAL BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF RHODESIA OF THEIR OWN FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND THE SELECTION OF THEIR OWN LEADERS.

IN HIS MARCH 9 PRESS CONFERENCE, PRESIDENT CARTER DESCRIBED THE SALISBURY PROPOSAL AS NOT ADEQUATE. I BELIEVE I CAN DEMONSTRATE ITS INADEQUACIES BY COMPARING THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS:

FIRST AND FOREMOST, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLE OF PARTICIPATION BY ALL FACTIONS. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT DOES NOT INCLUDE ALL THE

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NATIONALIST LEADERS. THUS IT THREATENS TO FURTHER

DIVIDE RATHER THAN UNIFY THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND
THREATENS TO PROLONG VIOLENCE RATHER THAN END IT.

SECOND, THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS RECOGNIZE THAT
TRANSITIONAL POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS MUST NOT BE SUBJECT
TO CONTROL BY THE EXISTING ILLEGAL REGIME OR ANY ONE
OF THE PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT. THE SALISBURY PLAN
WOULD INTRODUCE A TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENT OF SHARED
RESPONSIBILITY SUBJECT TO THE RULE OF UNANIMITY AND

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

THE ULTIMATE AUTHORITY OF THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT

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THIS WOULD ALLOW SMITH TO HOLD EFFECTIVE POWER AND TO WIELD A VETO. FOR, AS HE HIMSELF SAID IN AN INTERVIEW IN THE TIMES OF LONDON ON MARCH 2, WHETHER PEOPLE LIKED IT OR NOT, THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT WAS THE SOVEREIGN BODY UNDER THE EXISTING CONSTITUTION AND ONLY AN ELECTION COULD CHANGE THAT. THAT IS WHAT SMITH SAID. HE ALSO SAID HE WAS THE PRIME MINISTER AND NOBODY IN THE WORLD COULD DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT. IN OTHER WORDS, ALTHOUGH OTHERS MAY BE ASSOCIATED WITH HIM, SMITH AND HIS LARGELY WHITE PARLIAMENT ARE STILL IN CONTROL OF THE PROCESSES OF GOVERNMENT, INCLUDING SECURITY FUNCTIONS, THE CIVIL SERVICE, AND THE PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION.

THIRD, FREE AND FAIR ELECTIONS MUST BE ASSURED IN WHICH ALL ELEMENTS OF THE POPULATION AND ALL RHODESIAN POLITICAL FACTIONS WOULD PARTICIPATE EQUALLY. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL ADDRESSED THIS PRINCIPLE BY

PROPOSING THAT THE BRITISH RESIDENT COMMISSIONER WOULD HELP ENSURE THAT RESULT, AS WOULD THE PRESENCE OF IMPARTIAL OBSERVERS.

UNDER THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT THERE APPEARS TO BE NO PROVISION FOR INTERNATIONAL OUTSIDE PARTICIPATION IN THESE ELECTIONS WHICH WOULD ENSURE THEIR FAIRNESS OR IMPARTIALITY.

FOURTH, IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE FAIRNESS AND IRREVERSIBILITY OF A TRANSITION PROCESS, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER IN ZIMBABWE. THE RECORD OF CIVIL STRIFE OVER THE PAST DOZEN YEARS PRECLUDES RELIANCE ON THE RHODESIAN ARMY FOR THIS ESSENTIAL PURPOSE.
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CONSEQUENTLY, IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT A UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING FORCE ASSIST THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE POLICE FORCE IN MAINTAINING TRANQUILITY DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD AND IN ENSURING THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

THE SALISBURY AGREEMENT WOULD RELY ON THE EXISTING RHODESIAN ARMY, ABSORBING INTO IT THOSE GUERRILLAS CAPABLE OF PASSING A SCREENING PROCESS. WE CANNOT BUT CONCLUDE THAT SUCH A PROVISION FAILS TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE HISTORY OF BLOODSHED WHICH MAKES THE RHODESIAN ARMY, AS NOW CONSTITUTED, AN UNSATISFACTORY GUARANTOR OF THE RIGHTS OF ALL ZIMBABWEANS, BLACK AND WHITE.

FIFTH, PROVISION MUST BE MADE IN RHODESIA FOR A CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM WHICH PROTECTS THE RIGHTS OF ALL. THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL PROVIDES FOR AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY, AND AN ENTRENCHED BILL OF RIGHTS. THE BILL OF RIGHTS IS PROTECTED AGAINST CHANGE TO REASSURE ALL THAT THEIR FREEDOM WILL NOT BE OVERRUN. BUT THE REMAINDER OF THE CONSTITUTION CAN BE CHANGED BY THE PROCESS OF LAW.

THE CONSTITUTION OUTLINED IN SALISBURY ALSO ENVISAGES AN INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY AND THE PROTECTION OF CERTAIN RIGHTS. HOWEVER, FOR A PERIOD OF APPROXIMATELY TEN YEARS CHANGES IN ALL ENTRENCHED ASPECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION COULD COME ABOUT ONLY WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF ALL THE BLACK MEMBERS AND SIX OF THE WHITE MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT. INDEED, THERE IS NO GUARANTEE THAT THIS SYSTEM WILL NOT CARRY OVER AFTER THE INITIAL TEN-YEAR PERIOD. THIS LIMITATION OF THE ABILITY OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT TO BRING ABOUT NECESSARY CHANGE AND MEET THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE MAJORITY APPEAR INCONSISTENT WITH THE FULL EXERCISE OF SOVEREIGNTY BY AN INDEPENDENT

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GOVERNMENT REPRESENTING ALL THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE. MR. PRESIDENT, I HAVE GONE INTO SOME DETAIL IN DESCRIBING WHAT WE THINK SHOULD GO INTO A VIABLE PLAN FOR TRANSITION. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE, HOWEVER, THAT OUR DEBATE SHOULD BEGIN AND END ON THIS THEME. MY GOVERNMENT HOPES THAT THESE COUNCIL MEETINGS CAN SERVE AS A CATALYST TO A RENEWED EFFORT TO BRING THE NATIONALIST FORCES TOGETHER IN A NEW ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT WHICH INCLUDES ALL AND WHICH IS BASED ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. WE ARE

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

PREPARED TO JOIN WITH THE UNITED KINGDOM, ALL THE PARTIES
AND THE CONCERNED AFRICAN STATES IN A NEW EFFORT TO
MAKE PROGRESS AND REMEDY THE INADEQUACIES OF THE SALIS-
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BURY SETTLEMENT PLANS. WE HAVE NO ILLUSION THAT THIS
WILL BE A SIMPLE TASK, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE
EVIDENCE THAT THE RHODESIAN ARMED FORCES CONTINUE
THE ARROGANT PRACTICE OF RAIDS ACROSS THE BORDERS
OF NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES. THE RECENT RHODESIAN AMBUSH
OF A PATROL OF THE BOTSWANAN ARMY WELL WITHIN THE

BORDERS OF BOTSWANA AND THE RHODESIAN RAID INTO ZAMBIA
ARE THE LATEST EXAMPLES OF THE BEHAVIOR OF THE SMITH
REGIME WHICH MUST BE HALTED IF WE ARE TO
BELIEVE THAT ANY KIND OF AGREEMENT INVOLVING HIM IS
FEASIBLE.

SUCCESS IN A NEW EFFORT WOULD ALSO REQUIRE THE SUPPORT
OF THIS COUNCIL AND OF THE AFRICAN STATES MOST
DIRECTLY INVOLVED. WE WOULD NEED A CONSENSUS OF RE-
SPONSIBLE OPINION THAT THIS IS NOT THE TIME FOR
ACTIONS IN THE UNITED NATIONS OR ELSEWHERE WHICH WOULD
FURTHER POLARIZE THE SITUATION, BUT THE TIME FOR KEEPING
ALL CHANNELS OF COMMUNICATION OPEN. OUR GOAL WOULD
BE TO BUILD ON WHAT HAS GONE BEFORE, TO PRODUCE A
JUST AND LASTING SETTLEMENT FOR ZIMBABWE WHOSE PEOPLE
WOULD AT LAST KNOW THE BLESSINGS OF INDEPENDENCE,
FREEDOM AND PEACE.

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